

33381

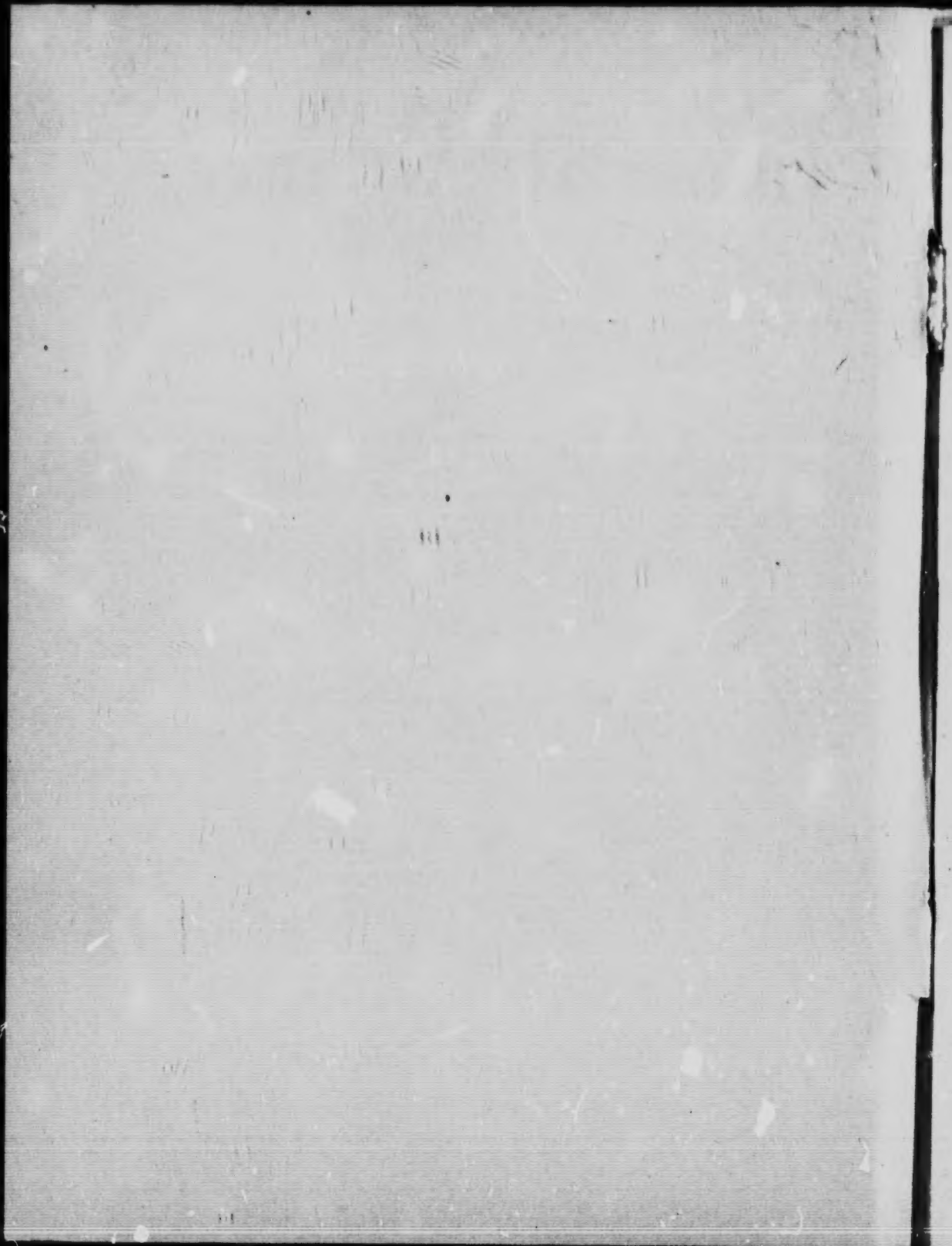
IMPERIAL ALLIANCE

By Gerald V. Pelton, LL.B.

FC 245
P45
1917
p***

COPY DEPOSITED NO. 33381

Car. Belton.
Gerald V.



Imperial Alliance

FC245

P45

1917

P***

Copyright, Canada, 1917,
by Gerald V. Pelton, LL.B.

880429

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The following pages are not intended as a profound treatise on Imperial questions. I have avoided lengthy quotations and abstruse references, which might be looked for by the student of Imperial affairs. As the question of our relationship in the Empire will henceforth be a very vital one, I have endeavoured to explain as briefly and clearly as possible the principles that underlie the various proposals that have been made from time to time.

While I sincerely trust that students and professional thinkers will find some interest and profit from this little booklet, it is intended rather to enlighten the general public on the questions discussed, and give to the reader who has not the time nor inclination to study the question deeply, a conversational and practical knowledge of what Imperialism in its different phases means.

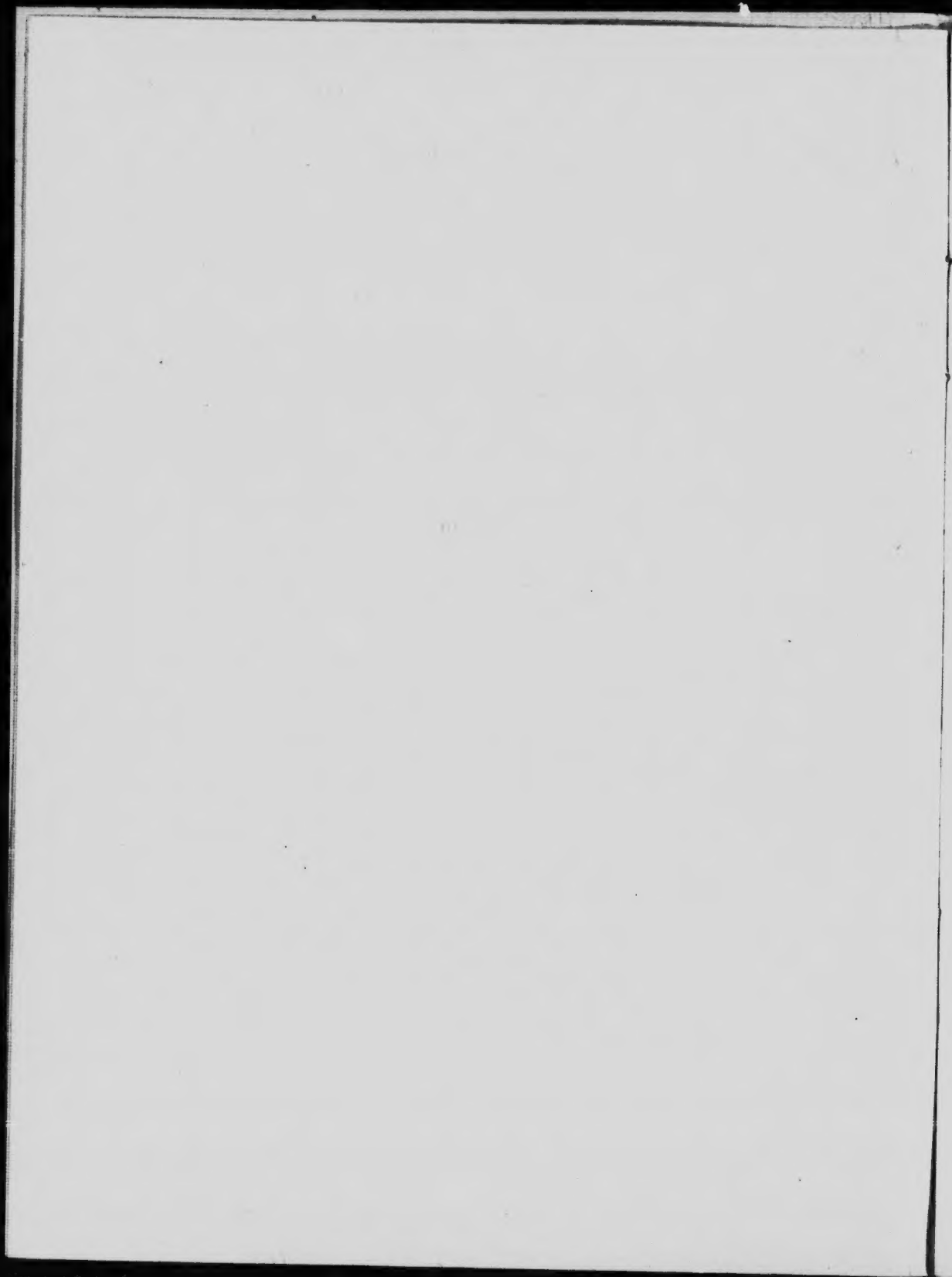
In advocating Imperial Alliance in preference to Federation or Independence, I have incorporated my own suggestions with views absorbed from a study of many writers on Imperial subjects, and the result of these conclusions, original and otherwise, is what I have designated under the general term, "Imperial Alliance."

I do not expect that all readers will agree with everything I say. If these views stimulate interest and create discussion, their purpose will not be in vain.

The reader is urged to study the charts after reading the booklet.

Gerald V. Pelton

Edmonton, August 15th, 1917.



CANADA'S CHOICE:

Independence, Imperial Federation, or Imperial Alliance.

The Dominion of Canada occupies in the world and in the Empire an anomalous, and, to some extent, an anonymous position. We long ago discarded the term "colonist" as being inapplicable to a people who had attained the degree of self government which we have achieved; and yet the term "Canadian" does not yet possess the same national significance to us that, for instance, the term "American" possesses for the citizen of the United States. If you ask a Canadian his nationality, he will tell you that is is a New Brunswicker, that he was born in the Island, or that he comes from Bruce County. The residents of the rural districts of Ontario divide their Canada into three parts, Ontario, Down East, and Out West, and in their conception the Down East and the Out West occupy positions with relation to Ontario somewhat analagous to that which a horse's tail occupies to the rest of the animal's body. The Nova Scotian, hearing that a friend is going to Winnipeg, gives him a letter of introduction to a relative in Vancouver in the hope that they may meet casually some Saturday afternoon. Many Englishmen never forget the fact that they are English and resent being called Canadians.

We have yet to develop "Canadian" as a unified national term so that a Canadian from one part of the Dominion feels a brother to a Canadian from any other part. As long as we continue to draw distinctions between French-Canadian and English-Canadian, as long as we allow provincial prejudices to dominate our political outlook, we will remain provincial and lose the greater vision of a national Canada—a nation of the

Empire and not a colony— a dominion in alliance with other dominions, yet each dominion in itself a great homogeneous whole.

The conclusion of the European War will witness a change in the form of governments throughout the world; monarchies will vanish and the people will have a larger voice in the direction of domestic and foreign affairs than they have ever had before. The peoples of the British Empire can scarcely attain a greater freedom than they have previously enjoyed, and yet it is generally recognized that the position of the Overseas Dominions must be revised and that the peoples of these dominions must have a more authoritative voice in policies which mould the destinies of the whole Empire.

It makes little difference whether we call ourselves a dominion or a colony, or a state, so long as we are free within our own borders to control our domestic destinies, repel invasion from without and assume the aggressive, when that may be required, for the maintenance of our national honour or the enforcement of those laws which affect our rights at home.

For more than a century the British Empire has been the strongest factor for the world's peace; not because of its enormous proportions and the unity of its peoples, though these are important considerations, but because of the moral calibre of its peoples. The same great Empire that has stood so nobly for peace might well have been the greatest factor for war, had its moral standards been like those of the German Empire, which, no one can deny, has a united people.

It is for us to consider whether the Empire in its present form will continue to be an assurance for peace should any one of its parts become imbued with the militaristic tendencies of Germany.

OUR PRESENT POSITION

Theoretically, should any part of the British Empire become embroiled in war, every other part must, or will, through a feeling of duty, join in that war. Although we have not, in the past, had the right to declare a war on our own behalf, that right can no longer be denied us, and each of the other self-governing dominions must have the same right. Each of the dominions must also feel free to join in or refrain from any struggle initiated by any other part of the Empire.

To avoid misunderstanding, let it be understood that no one questions the wisdom or the necessity of our participation in the present struggle. Had we been a neutral or an independent nation, we could not have done otherwise, because a great moral issue and principles of international law and international rights are at stake. By her violation of Belgian neutrality and the outrages committed there, Germany violated moral and international law, which it is the duty of all nations to uphold. It thus became our duty to enforce respect for moral and international rights by force of arms, and our response to the call of the motherland, though influenced to some extent by affection for her, was more largely actuated by abhorrence for the conduct of Germany, and had we been an independent nation we could not have done otherwise.

It is conceivable, however, that at some future date a quarrel might arise between one part of the Empire and another nation, in which other portions of the Empire will have no interest except by reason of the fact that they are politically parts of the same Empire. For instance, England might find herself in a commercial dispute with China similar to that which brought about the Opium War, which citizens of the dominions, having no commercial interest therein, considered an immoral war. Difference might arise with the negroes of Africa,

or the Chinese of Hong-Kong. Newfoundland might find herself in difficulties with the United States over the right of American fishermen to ply their trade in Newfoundland waters. Many possible contingencies could be imagined which would concern only that portion of the Empire immediately involved. Australia, with her immigration policy which excludes all coloured races, or the Dominion of Canada, which discourages Asiatic immigration by heavy head tax on the Chinese and an arrangement with the Japanese Government, may find themselves on the verge of a struggle in order to enforce their immigration laws, and in such an event they could scarcely expect the Chinese of Hong-Kong, the Blacks of Africa, or the Hindus of India, to assist them in enforcing a policy which, to the coloured races, would seem discriminate and unjust.

In our present position, however, or in the event of Imperial Federation, these coloured peoples might feel bound, from sense of duty, or compelled by a majority vote of the Imperial Parliament, to participate in a struggle which they cannot morally support, or they might be treated as belligerents by the enemy. It is true that they would have the right to refuse, but would not such refusal tend to disrupt the unity of the Empire?

There is another danger in an arrangement whereby any one dominion might involve the whole Empire in war, though it is not likely to occur with people whose moral standards are as high as those of the British Empire, and that is that any of the dominions making an unjust demand upon another nation might adopt a bullying attitude and insist upon such demands being complied with, knowing that behind the demand was the strength of the whole British Empire; or, on the other hand, a conscientious nation might hesitate in pressing its just demands too strongly and adopt too readily a "watchful waiting" attitude, fearing to insist upon rights which ought to be accorded to it, because such insistence

might lead the whole Empire and perhaps the whole world into war, when the matter would be only one of interest to the immediate nations involved.

All control of peace and war in the British Empire has been centralized in the British Government, over whom the peoples of the Dominions have no control, and who are responsible only to the people of the British Isles. The peoples of the Dominions have had no voice in foreign policy, and our representatives at the Imperial Conferences have not been obliged to account to their people for such foreign policy, because they were not instrumental in putting it into effect. Perhaps one of the reasons why we have taken so little interest in this matter is our small financial interests, and it is very likely that after the conclusion of the present hostilities we will insist upon having a very full voice in all policies which affect national defence. In 1913, Great Britain spent \$7.64 per head on her Army and Navy, Australia \$4.59, Canada, \$1.84. We could hardly expect to control a Navy to which we had contributed nothing. We depended for our land defences upon the Munroe doctrine, and for our sea defences upon the British Navy. The Munroe Doctrine is not now considered the infallible defence that it was before the war.

As late as in 1911, when Sir Joseph Ward of New Zealand proposed a Federal Parliament with a Federal Executive for the Empire, Mr. Asquith ridiculed the idea and declared that control of foreign policy could not be shared with the Dominions. At the same conference, Sir Wilfrid Laurier said that Canada preferred to shape her foreign affairs in her own way, avoiding the vortex of European militarism, and the matter rested upon the assurance of the Foreign Secretary that henceforth the Dominions *would be consulted* in matters which immediately affected their interest. Thus British ascendancy in foreign affairs of the Empire was preserved.

Under the present arrangement which was made at the Conference in 1913, whenever the Dominions are concerned a representative is summoned to the Defence Committee and any resident minister has full access to the Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and Colonial Secretary. That is to say, we have at the present time a powerful voice in foreign affairs which affect our interest, but it is a voice that speaks without authority and our representative can do nothing binding in reference to foreign affairs. We have a voice that is listened to with great deference, but it is nothing more than a voice.

NATURALIZATION

No persons naturalized in Canada prior to the outbreak of the European War are British subjects beyond the borders of Canada. The right of naturalization conferred upon us by the Imperial Government restricted our powers to conferring British citizenship so long as the naturalized subject remained within the borders of Canada. As soon as he left our shores he reverted to his original nationality. The result raises an interesting constitutional question with reference to conscription for national service abroad.

CONSCRIPTION

Whilst undoubtedly we can conscript all British subjects, native-born or naturalized, for service within the borders of Canada, the naturalized citizen ceases to be a British subject when he leaves Canadian territory. Accordingly, our authority over him as a British subject does not extend beyond our own borders, and a conscript naturalized subject becomes a conscript alien when he leaves Canada and entitled to the protection of his native Government.

On the other hand, as long as he remains in Canada, the naturalized citizen is a British subject, entitled to

be treated as such, and cannot be interned as an alien or expelled from the country, without special legislation to that effect.

So that a naturalized citizen of an allied state might remain in Canada and avoid conscription for overseas by his native country, being a British subject, and avoid conscription for overseas by Canada, as he ceases to be a British subject beyond our borders.

Legislation and treaty can remedy this anomaly but it exists at the time of writing.

After the outbreak of war the Imperial Parliament passed a statute by which the Dominions may now confer British citizenship for the whole Empire, but it required an Imperial Act to enable it, and the majority of our naturalized subjects became such before the war.

There is no such thing as a subject of Canada.

Our final Court of Appeal is still the Privy Council and any legislation that we may pass may be disallowed at Westminster.

The last vestige of British control over the affairs of the Dominions has not yet passed away.

WHAT, THEN, ARE OUR ALTERNATIVES TO OUR PRESENT POSITION?

INDEPENDENCE

The first alternative and that which finds the fewest sympathizers is National Independence. Mr. J. S. Ewart, of Ottawa, according to the sentiment of his "Kingdom Papers," would sever the Imperial connection but would retain a common king, and our position would be similar to that of Hanover and England until the accession of Queen Victoria and each of the Dominions would be in all respects independent but would acknowledge a common sovereign who would also be King of England. Mr. Ewart feels none of the sentimental affection for the Old Land which so many Canadians feel, but he cites numerous instances in which England has sacrificed colonial interest and tried to get rid of her colonies when there seemed to be no advantage in keeping them and only desired to retain a connection when trade interests seemed to benefit.

Mr. Bourassa, on the other hand, would practically sever all ties with the Motherland. He does not love France because she surrendered Quebec to England; he does not love England because she is not his Motherland; he does not love English-speaking Canadians because they are not his blood relations. Mr. Bourassa's views, if carried to an extreme, would make Quebec a French Republic and would divide Canada into a number of petty States, in which the only bond of cohesion in each State would be a common tongue.

Mr. Ewart wants a judicial separation; Mr. Bourassa an absolute divorce.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

The arguments in favor of "Imperial Federation" have found many supporters and have been synthesized by Lionel Curtis in his book "Problems of the Commonwealth."

The federationists urge an enactment like that of 1707 by which the English and Scottish Parliaments gave their powers to the new British Parliament, or such a federation as would retain control of local affairs and give up control of defence and imperial questions to the new Imperial Parliament, the United Kingdom, like each of the other Dominions, doing the same. Under the scheme of Imperial Federation each of the Dominions, including the United Kingdom, would send representatives to the new Imperial Parliament. Mr. Curtis, in his book, does not state whether representation would be by population but this method of representation would clearly be unfair because the United Kingdom would completely out-number the other Dominions, and if India ever attained the status equal to that of the other Dominions, she would completely out-number us all. The only fair basis of representation would be for each Dominion, being a self-contained political entity, to send the same number of members to the Imperial Parliament. Some time ago a proposal was mentioned in our press to make Colonial Premiers members of the British House, and it is surprising how many thoughtless editors applauded this proposal to give each of the Dominions one representative in a House composed of several hundred members.

CRITICISM OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION

Imperial Federation is open to a great many very grave and practically insuperable difficulties.

TAXATION

The first is to find a method of taxation which would be equitable and just. Hofmeyer suggests a surtax of one or two per cent. on all foreign imports to be paid to the new Imperial Government, and Professor Jebb suggests that the new Imperial Parliament be empowered to levy a tariff not exceeding five per cent. on all foreign imports and that the different Dominions reserve the right of surtaxing foreign imports and taxing British imports.

Others have suggested that the different Dominions pay proportionate subsidies to the new Imperial Parliament but this scheme was opposed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier as being contrary to the principle that no Government ought to provide moneys which another Government spends. It is open to the further objection that it savors too much of the old Roman system of tribute to a central authority.

The greatest objection to any of the forms of taxation mentioned above is the difficulty of ascertaining what would be a fair proportion for each of the Dominions to contribute to the expense of the Imperial Government. We have already noted the disparity in the amounts spent for national defence by the United Kingdom and by the different Dominions. But it must be borne in mind that the United Kingdom, if it had no colonies whatever, would still be obliged to maintain a Navy large enough to ensure command of the seas because, being an island kingdom, its very existence is dependent upon sea power. Australia, also, on account

of her isolated position and being an island continent, requires to spend much more on both naval and military defence than the Dominion of Canada. It would clearly be inequitable for Canadians to contribute the same proportion to the defence of the British Isles as the inhabitants of those Isles must contribute by reason of their geographical isolation.

CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY

All successful federations, for instance, Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the United States of America, respectively comprise contiguous territory. Ireland refuses to be reconciled to her control by a Parliament in England. Newfoundland refuses to join Canada, and Prince Edward Island, although she came into the Canadian Confederation two years late, still thinks that by so doing she sacrificed herself. Contiguity seems to be almost essential to community of government and segregation seems to separate political interests.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS

Perhaps the most difficult of all questions under Imperial Federation would be what powers the Parliaments of the Dominions would relinquish to the Imperial Parliament and what powers they would retain to themselves. It is admitted that they would have to give up or abandon any claim to control peace and war, treaty making and national diplomacy, but every one of these admittedly Imperial questions depends upon control over other questions which the Parliaments of the Dominions would refuse to relinquish.

The question of Asiatic immigration affects China and Japan and menaces the peace of the Indian Empire and might well be construed as an Imperial question which affects peace and war, treaty making or national diplomacy, and yet it is not at all likely that Australia, with

her policy of "a white Australia", and Canada, with her Asiatic exclusion policy, would consent to relinquish control of immigration. If they did so they might find their own views out-voted by representatives from the other portions of the Empire.

COMMERCIAL INTERESTS AND THE CONTROL OF TARIFFS

Are almost inseparable from foreign affairs and infinite confusion would arise with a Central Parliament attempting to regulate tariffs for the Dominions scattered throughout the earth. It is only a few months since the manufacturers of Lancashire objected very strenuously to Mr. Chamberlain's attempt to give protection to India on cotton goods and the protection which he did give is probably temporary. All previous federations have centralized control of trade and commerce. Norway and Sweden attempted a common foreign policy with separate tariffs. The system was found unworkable and the two Kingdoms dissolved because their commercial policies became antagonistic. Austria-Hungary has had similar difficulty and at one time Austria wanted protection and Hungary wanted free trade and disruption was only averted by a compromise tariff and neither got what they wanted.

The Newfoundland fisheries question is a trade question and one which might lead to international trouble, yet it is inconceivable that Newfoundland would consent to have this question controlled by an Imperial Parliament.

TREATY MAKING

All treaties between nations contain clauses guaranteeing rights of entry, residence or trade to the subjects of the contracting powers, and, unless the Parliaments of the Dominions were willing to give up their power over these questions, it would be impossible for the Imperial Parliament to negotiate treaties.

Everyone is familiar with the amount of litigation which has taken place between the Dominion of Canada and the different Provinces of the Dominion as to what matters were within the jurisdiction of each and under the scheme of Imperial Federation there would be bound to be constant friction as to just what the simple words "Imperial matters" include.

IMPERIAL ALLIANCE

Organic union in time of peace is not necessary to enable nations to join together in a scheme of offence or defence in time of war. England and her allies are, at the present time, conducting a common war policy and yet each of the Allies retains its independence and its control over its domestic affairs and its expenditure and policy with reference to the war itself.

The different Dominions of the Empire are quite as capable of looking after their own affairs as the different allied nations and such control over their own affairs would by no means preclude them from joining together in times of war but they would have the right to decide for themselves whether or not they would become belligerents and when they did so become belligerents it would be by virtue of their own free declaration.

It was never intended by those who first contemplated Confederation that the Dominion of Canada should perpetually remain a subordinate portion of the Empire bound by the declarations of war which the United Kingdom might make, whether or not those declarations met with approval in the Dominion.

During the Confederation debates, Sir John A. MacDonald frequently urged that the Confederation be called the "Kingdom" of Canada and he said, "England, instead of looking upon us as a merely dependent colony, will have in us a friendly nation, a subordinate but still a powerful people to stand by her in North America in peace as in war. The people of Australia will be such another subordinate nation in alliance with her and owing allegiance to the same Sovereign." And Lord Morley, subsequently commenting, said that the Dominion would be "subordinate in stature but not in status." Lord Lisgar, who was Governor-General in 1868, said that "Canada has its destinies in its own hands

and its statesmen and people are recognized as competent to judge of their interests as to what course to pursue to conciliate those interests. England looks to them for her guidance and whatever their decision may be, either to continue the present connection, or in due time and in the maturity of their growth, to exchange it for some other form of alliance."

The tie that binds us to the Motherland is not our organic connection with her but the sentimental affection which we feel for her and the mutual interests which enable us to see eye to eye with her on the great issues. Any attempt to make our organic connection any more firm would only weaken those sentimental ties, but our affection for the Motherland and our allegiance to her can be made stronger and stronger by means which conserve to us absolute autonomy and yet preserve the strong bond of sympathy which exists between the Dominions and the Motherland.

Ever since the Colonial Conference of 1887 it has been felt that mutual trade would promote imperialism and the imperial preference policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier has been a tremendous factor in cementing the mutual interests of the United Kingdom and Canada.

It is therefore conceivable that the Empire can survive by means of an Imperial Alliance.

DETAILS OF IMPERIAL ALLIANCE

The Dominions have now reached a state where they are capable of controlling their foreign policy as well as their domestic affairs and under the scheme of Imperial Alliance the Dominion Parliaments would assume full legislative powers.

There are two constitutional methods by which the Parliament of Canada might assume the control of peace and war, treaty making, foreign policy and other matters which are controlled by independent states.

The first is by an Act of the Imperial Parliament conferring upon the Parliament of Canada the same legislative powers for the Government of Canada as the Imperial Parliament has for the government of Great Britain and Ireland. The question of dependencies which might come under the sovereignty of Canada would have to be settled at the Imperial Conference.

The second method would be by an Act of the Dominion Parliament assuming the powers required. The Imperial Parliament would have the right to disallow such an Act, but its graceful acquiescence may be anticipated. Canada has already negotiated a commercial treaty with France, a good many years ago, which was confirmed by the Imperial Parliament, and the proposed reciprocity treaty with United States, if carried, would have been confirmed in the same way.

A formal declaration of independence would achieve the same purpose, but this would seem too much like a severing of the sentimental ties, and probably the most acceptable to Imperialists, Separationists and Imperial Alliance supporters, would be an Act of the Imperial Parliament, after the passing of which we would at once assume our status as an independent member of the Imperial Alliance. It is assumed that prior to the Act passing, the details would have been thoroughly settled by the Imperial Conference, and similar Acts for each of the Dominions could be passed at the same time, and henceforth that day observed as a public holiday—Empire Day—throughout the Empire, when loyalty to the Imperial Alliance would be annually celebrated and affirmed.

ANNUAL IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

Imperial Conferences would meet annually and would discuss the questions of interest to all parts of the Empire and would recommend legislation to the Parliaments of

the respective Dominions. The Dominion Parliaments would not be bound to adopt these recommendations unless they met with the approval of their own people but the fact that they were so recommended would, in most cases, be acceptable to the peoples of the Dominions and, if not acceptable, the freedom of rejection would remain.

DOMINION AUTONOMY

The Alliance between the different Dominions would be similar to alliances which have been made from time to time between independent nations and might include guarantees of mutual protection under certain conditions but if any one part of the Empire chose to engage in a war which other Dominions considered unjust they would be at liberty to refrain from participating in that struggle.

IMPERIAL PREFERENCE

The Imperial preference would be extended to all parts of the Empire and each of the Dominions would grant trade preferences to the other members of the Alliance and thus the strong bond of mutual trade would grow stronger and stronger. Chambers of Commerce would be established to promote trade and trade interests in the different Dominions, to disseminate information respecting commerce and to exchange views on questions pertaining to mutual trade.

CHEAP TRAVEL

Another strong bond of sympathy would be cheap travel and intercourse between the different Dominions of the Alliance. The "All-Red-Route" which was discussed in Canada some years ago was intended to connect the different parts of the British Empire. Travel between the different parts of the Empire would be very much cheaper than travel between the Dominions and

other portions of the world, so that emigrants from any one Dominion would be induced to migrate to another Dominion rather than to foreign countries because of the cheapness of travel between the different parts of the British Empire.

EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

The different Dominions would also be brought closer together by educational exchange. Scholarships would be provided in the universities of one Dominion to the subjects of other Dominions; professors would be exchanged from time to time; Imperial societies would be established throughout the Empire to foster sympathy with the Imperial Alliance and every possible step taken to educate the subjects of the Dominions to regard their first allegiance as being due to their own Dominion, and their second allegiance as being due to the Imperial Alliance.

Each of the Dominions would retain its present Parliament and in due time perhaps India might attain a national status. There would be no need of creating new machinery, the Dominions simply assuming greater powers.

The details of the schemes to cement the Imperial Alliance would be discussed at the Imperial Conference, then taken up with the respective Dominion Parliaments and settled at a subsequent Imperial Conference.

A COMMON EMPEROR

The Emperor of the Empire would be the King of England so long as the monarchy survives but each of the Dominions would choose or elect its own Governor, who would be the head of that Dominion.

The final Court of Appeal would be the Supreme Court of the Dominion, appeals to the Privy Council being abolished.

A COMMON FLAG

The flag of the Empire would be the Union Jack, and each of the Dominions would have its own flag, comprising the Union Jack in the corner and its own national emblem or shield in the field of the flag.

DEPENDENCIES

Australia and New Zealand have wrested from Germany certain islands in the Pacific and there are other islands there, including the large island of Papua, which are at present under the control of the United Kingdom. These islands ought to pass under the control of Australia and New Zealand respectively, the details to be settled at the Imperial Conference.

The United Kingdom would, of course, retain control over the Crown Colonies and other dependencies and over India for the time being, but Jamaica or any other of the British possessions should be given the option of joining Canada or any other of the Dominions.

ARMY AND NAVY

Each Dominion would establish, control and maintain its own army and navy. This is the only fair means of apportioning the cost of defence, and each Dominion would spend as much as its needs might require and its own people might allow. In time of war it would be a simple matter to bring the armies and navies under a joint centralized control, if necessary, and each Dominion would be able to defend itself until such joint control was established by consent of the different Dominions concerned. If any one of the Dominions should engage in a struggle, of which the other Dominions did not approve, they would not be bound to participate, and the belligerent Dominion would rely upon its own army and navy. It is a safe

conjecture that none of the Dominions would engage rashly in a war which did not meet with the moral approval of the other Dominions, and an alliance is a much stronger factor for peace than a federation, where the whole Empire would be bound to fight for the hasty action of any one of the Dominions.

The naval problem would be met in the manner suggested at the 1909 Imperial Conference. Instead of maintaining a few cruisers and submarines, which are capable only of coast defence, each Dominion would maintain one or more complete fleet units, capable of defending trade routes and engaging hostile squadrons. A complete fleet unit is a little navy in itself; it consists of one armoured cruiser, three unarmoured cruisers, six destroyers and three submarines. It costs about \$18,500,000 to build and about \$3,000,000 per year to maintain. The proposed contribution of \$35,000,000 to the Imperial treasury by the Dominion of Canada would have purchased two such units. Both political parties in Canada are to blame for the absence of a Canadian navy. The Liberals contented themselves with a few obsolete cruisers, and the Conservatives would have handed the whole responsibility to the Imperial authorities.

ABOLITION OF TITLES

As far as Canada is concerned, it is likely that the feudal system and titled aristocracy would become a thing of the past. It would not really be an abolition for the system is not native to us, and if the United Kingdom desired to retain it for itself, the other Dominions could not object. But the Overseas Dominions would not incorporate the system into their scheme of government.

It might be a graceful concession to those who like a distinguishing mark for distinguished citizens to grant constitutional power to the King, as long as we have a

king, or to the nominal head of the Empire, to confer an order of knighthood for life only, upon outstanding public figures who had rendered some signal service to the Empire. But such titles could only be conferred upon recommendation of the Imperial Conference, and the honour would not be likely to be besmirched by rewarding with titles those whose sole claim to recognition was the acquisition of wealth through watered stocks or a contribution to campaign funds.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN

Sir Robert Borden, upon his return from the Imperial Conference in May, 1917, stated in the House of Commons that an Imperial Federal Parliament did not appear to be practicable and announced that a change would be made in the constitution of the Empire, and that representatives of the Opposition would be asked to take part in the Conference when a new constitution is discussed, as the question is too vital to be made a party one.

GENERAL SMUTS

In a remarkable speech given in his honour by the British Members of both Houses of Parliament on May 15th, 1917, Lieut.-General Smuts of South Africa emphasized the unity of the Empire as depending upon community of aims. He said, "The expression Empire is misleading, because it makes people think that we are one community, to which the word Empire can appropriately be applied. Germany is an Empire. Rome was an Empire. India is an Empire. But we are a system of nations which I prefer to call 'the British Commonwealth of Nations'. The United States discovered the Federal solution You can see at once that a solution which has been found practicable in the case of the United States will never work in the case of an enormous system such as we are trying to

work out. There is only one solution, and that is a solution supplied by our past traditions—the traditions of freedom, self-government, and of the fullest development."

General Smuts said we must rely upon the hereditary kingship as one of the factors to keep the Commonwealth of Nations together, and thought the election of a President for the Empire would be an insoluble problem. He suggested an annual conference of the rulers of the Empire to discuss matters which concerned all parts of the Empire in common.

The Imperial Conference of 1917 decided that the Imperial constitution would form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities; and in defining the aims sought after, seemed to negative distinctly the idea of a Federal solution, emphasizing 'continuous consultation' and 'the several governments'. Its resolutions recognize that the Empire is not one nation, nor a collection of one nation's dependencies, but essentially a new species of alliance; with equality of status among its component parts, and with equal Governments of the King under the British Commonwealth.

Rome and Greece were centralized Empires and they disintegrated because they became too unwieldly for centralized control. The German Empire is a centralized Empire, founded on militarism, as all centralized empires have been.

The British Empire is and will be an Empire of co-operating nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and South African, with dependencies even more varied in race and religion. It is not founded on militarism but on self-government. It does not seek unity through uniformity, or cohesion through concentration, but through free individual expression and the cherishing of similar ideas and ideals of freedom.

The Ptolemaic idea of astronomy was that the earth was the centre of the universe, and that the other planets revolved around it. That is the principle of Imperial Federation.

The Copernican system of astronomy, now generally acknowledged as correct, is that the earth is not the centre and that the other planets, though related, revolve independently in orbits of their own. That is the principle of Imperial Alliance.

EPITOME

The Imperial Alliance, then, will be comprised of independent nations, owning a common allegiance and meeting in Imperial Conference, bound together by sentimental and historical ties and by mutual trade interests brought about by Imperial preference; with a common flag for the Empire, and an individual flag for the Dominions; with a self-chosen Governor but a common King; in all respects independent yet united for the common rights of human beings; distinct as the billows but one as the sea.

The author does not suggest that the foregoing remarks constitute the only or necessarily the best solution of this great question. Whatever changes time may evolve in the status of the individual Dominions and however broad may be the liberties of its component parts, the British Empire must and will survive, a perpetual alliance of peoples whose watchword is justice, whose shibboleth is the brotherhood of man.

In conclusion, the author sees another vision on the distant horizon which must form the subject of a separate discussion, when Australia, New Zealand and Canada shall join in an alliance with the United States of America, that their mutual interests on the Pacific may be preserved, that the hegemony of the Western Hemisphere may repose in the hands of the Caucasian races, and that in conjunction with the Imperial Alliance, the world may be brought closer and closer to the day when every nation of the earth shall become permeated with the principles of brotherly love, and war become a moral impossibility.

COLONIAL STATUS

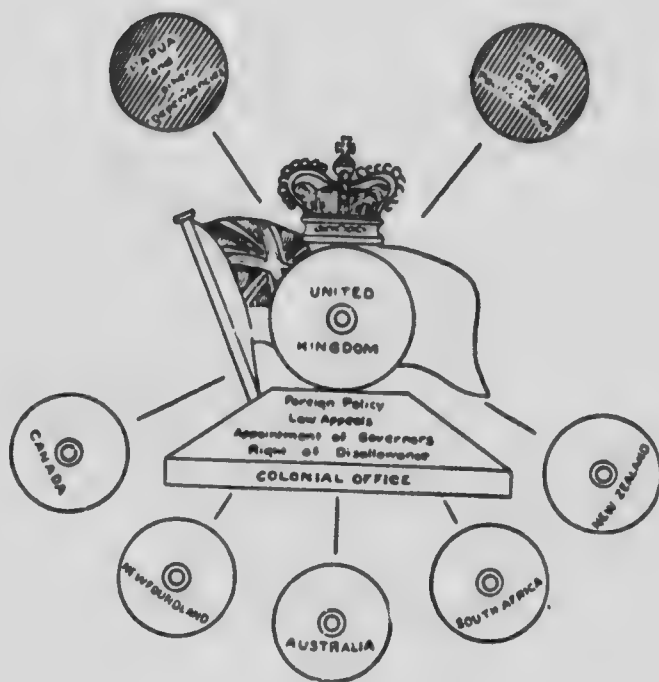


Plate No 1

KEY TO PLATES

-  Indicates Parliament
-  " King & Emperor
-  " Choice of Governor
-  " Flag of Empire
-  " Flag of Dominions

COPYRIGHT 1917 BY GERALD V. PELTON, LL.B.
CHARTS DESIGNED BY AUTHOR; DRAWN BY P. A. LOWRY

IMPERIAL FEDERATION

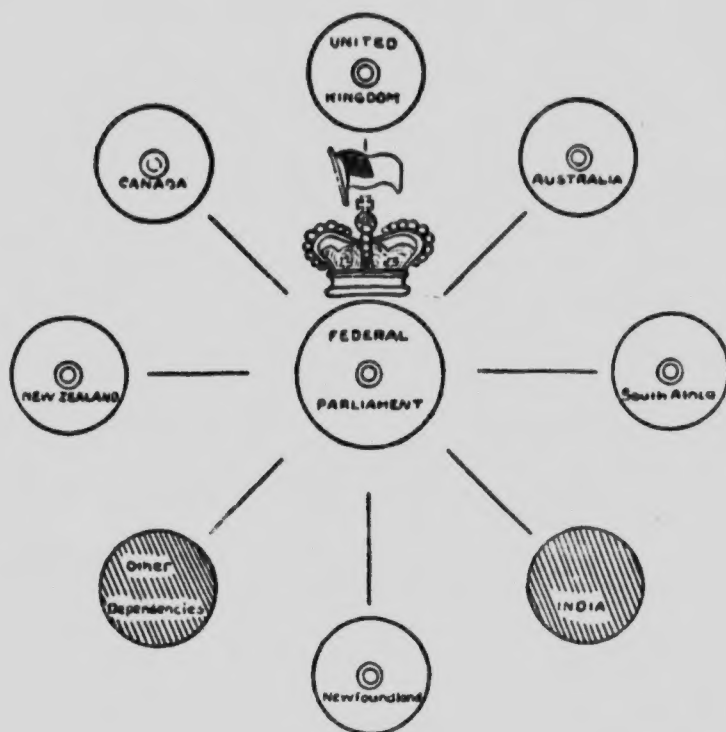


Plate No. 2

IMPERIAL ALLIANCE

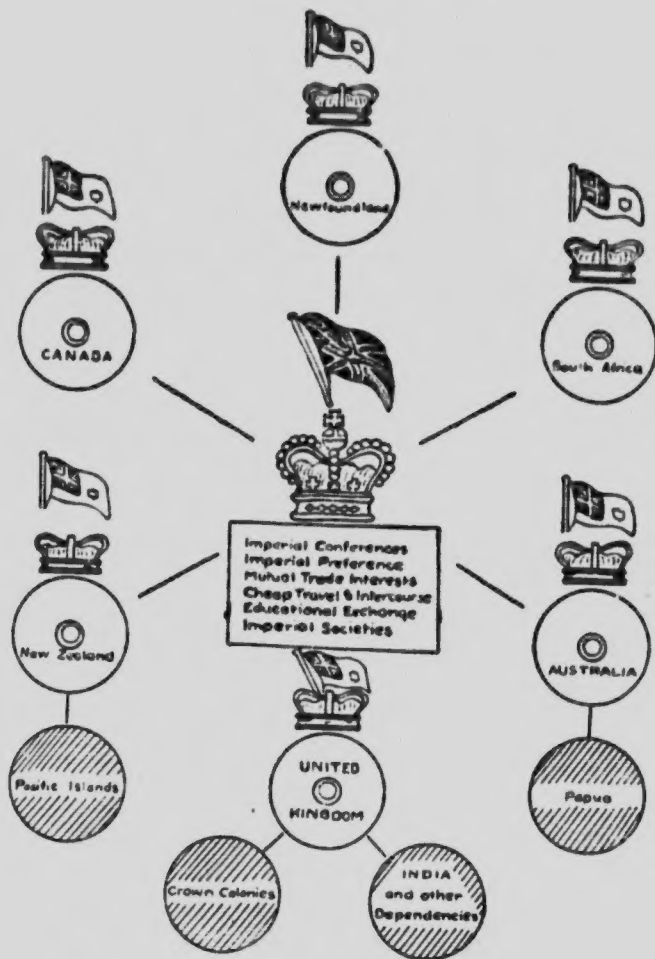


Plate No.3

INDEX

Alliance, Imperial.....	18-28	Hanover and England.....	12
Alliance with U.S.A.....	28	Hereditary Titles.....	24
Annual Imperial Conference.....	20	Hofmeyr.....	14
Army and Navy.....	9-23	Immigration.....	8
Asiatic Immigration.....	8	Imperial Alliance.....	16-28
Asquith, Hon. H.....	9	Imperial Conference, 1909.....	24
Astronomic Systems.....	27	Imperial Conference, 1911.....	9
Australia, White.....	8-15	Imperial Conference, 1917.....	26
Autonomy.....	21	Imperial Federation.....	9, 13-17
Borden, Sir Robert.....	25	Imperial Preference.....	19-21
Bourassa.....	12	Independence.....	12
British Ascendancy.....	9	Jebb, Prof.....	14
British Empire for peace.....	6	King.....	22
British Navy.....	9	Kingdom of Canada.....	18
Canadian, National term.....	5	Kingdom Papers.....	12
Centralized Empires.....	26	Laurier, Sir Wilfred.....	9
Cheap Travel.....	21	Lisgar, Lord.....	18
Colonial Conference, 1887.....	19	Macdonald, Sir John A.....	18
Commerce.....	16	Morley, Lord.....	18
Commonwealth of Nations, (Smuts).....	25	Naturalization.....	10
Commonwealth, Problems of (Curtis).....	13	Navy.....	9
Conference, see Colonial and Imperial.....		Organic Union not necessary.....	18
Conscription.....	10	Preference, Imperial.....	19, 21
Contiguous Territory.....	15	Present Position.....	7, 8
Copernican, Astronomy.....	27	Problems of the Commonwealth.....	13
Cost of defence.....	9	Provincial Outlook.....	5
Cost of Fleet unit.....	24	Ptolemaic, Astronomy.....	27
Curtis, Lionel.....	13	Rome.....	26
Defence Committee.....	10	Smuts, Lt.-Gen.....	25
Dependencies.....	23	Subsidies.....	14
Distribution of Powers.....	15	Tariffs.....	16
Dominion Autonomy.....	21	Taxation.....	14
Educational Exchange.....	22	Titles, Abolition of.....	24
Emperor.....	22	Travel, Cheap.....	21
Epitome.....	28	Treaty-Making.....	16
European War.....	7	Tribute.....	14
Ewart, John S.....	12	United States.....	28
Flag.....	23	War, Declaration of.....	7, 9, 18
Fleet Unit.....	24	Ward, Sir Joseph.....	9
Foreign Affairs.....	7, 9, 18, 19	White Australia.....	8, 14, 15
German Empire.....	6-7		
Greece.....	26		

